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AUTHOR Gorsuch, Greta J.
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ABSTRACT

"Yakudoku," the traditional, non-oral method of teaching language in Japan, is described and compared with the grammar translation method of language instruction. The methods differ in that "yakudoku" focuses mainly on translation of the foreign language text into Japanese, with grammar instruction a secondary concern, and that the purpose of "yakudoku" is to render text into Japanese so that it may be understood in that language, rather than to understand the English text itself. The methods are similar in that both are accompanied by examinations administered on a large scale to secondary students, a powerful washback effect from examinations to curriculum and teaching method occurs, and focus is on written text, with neglect of oral/aural skills. A study of the classroom behaviors and teaching techniques of two Japanese "yakudoku" teachers of English as a Second Language, drawing on classroom observation and interviews, is also reported. The study confirmed initial characterizations of "yakudoku," underlined the importance of teacher control in "yakudoku," and revealed that the literature appreciation paradigm had a strong influence on instructional methods. Contains 40 references. (MSE)

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Yakudoku EFL Instruction in a Japanese High School Classroom

by Greta J. Gorsuch, Mejiro University

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Despite swings of the pendulum towards and away from oral English instruction, some researchers suggest that English language instruction in high schools in Japan has largely been and is still dominated by *yakudoku*, a non-oral approach to foreign language instruction, thought to be related to grammar/translation (Bryant, 1956; Henrichsen, 1989; Hino, 1988; Law, 1995). Hino, in speaking of high school and university English instruction goes so far as to say "*Yakudoku* is 'the' method in the teaching of English in Japan" (1988, p. 46). Writing from a perspective of university teachers dealing with high school graduates educated in the *yakudoku* method, Bamford agrees: "Indeed, the tradition of using the 'grammar translation' method is...practically synonymous with English education in Japan" (1993, p. 64). And, a survey conducted by the Research Group for College English Teaching in Japan (cited in Hino, 1988, p. 46) reported that among its 1,012 Japanese university and high school teacher respondents nationwide, 70 to 80 percent used *yakudoku* in their EFL classes.

Despite its seeming prevalence in EFL education in Japan, little detailed, descriptive research on *yakudoku* English instruction in Japanese high school classrooms is to be found. Complaints and commentaries about its effects on second language reading, second language learning, and secondary and tertiary school curricula abound in the literature. But while these articles are generally relevant and cogent, they lack descriptive data taken from classrooms in which the methodology is used (Bamford, 1993; Bryant II, 1956; Henrichsen, 1989; Hildebrant and Giles, 1980; Hino, 1988;

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Horibe, 1995; Januzzi, 1994; Law, 1994; Law, 1995; Mitsuo, 1996; Sheen, 1993).

The purpose of this research project is to define *yakudoku*, and describe how it affects the English reading of two EFL teachers and their students in a high school in Japan. Central to our understanding of EFL *yakudoku* education in Japan is a detailed account of the instructional practices of Japanese high school English teachers, and their beliefs that fuel these practices. From there, we can postulate how *yakudoku* fits in with second language reading theory. Therefore, as a first step, the research questions are:

1. What are the instructional practices of two "academic" high school teachers in their *yakudoku* EFL classrooms?
2. How can the beliefs these teachers hold towards *yakudoku* EFL education be characterized?

Yakudoku and Grammar/Translation

Yakudoku is often likened and compared to the grammar/translation method of foreign language instruction, as in Hino: "the Grammar-Translation Method in the West, which grew out of the teaching of classical languages such as Latin and Greek, presents a close resemblance to the Yakudoku Method" (1983, p. 53). Henrichsen provides a similar definition, although with a spin, "Another Japanese language-teaching tradition that ran counter to the reforms...was a Japanese-style "grammar translation" approach called *yakudoku*" (1989, p. 104).

The grammar/translation method, as described by Howatt (1984) is a method that developed in nineteenth Europe through a collision of the older study of classical literary texts in higher education with the changing realities of a rapidly growing public secondary education movement for young

people. Rather than focusing on longer classical literary texts learned through self study, the grammar/translation method focused on grammar rules through explicit instruction and by using single written sentences to exemplify grammar structures thought to be essential for students to learn. The sentences were also used to provide opportunities for students to practice using the grammar structures in pedagogical, classroom based exercises (p. 132). This practice was achieved in many cases through having students translate the example sentences from the second language language into the first language, and vice versa, hence the "translation" part of the method's name. The descriptions of Howatt (1983) and Kelly (1976) of the grammar/translation method suggests that the mastery of the grammar rules was the focus of the method.

Concerning the relationship of grammar/translation to *yakudoku*, the consensus seems to be that while there are similarities, there are important differences. In this paper, two of the major differences will be discussed, as will be four areas of similarity. Hino (1988, p. 46) specifies the three step process of *yakudoku*: First, the reader makes a word by word translation of the English text; next, the translation is reordered to match Japanese syntax; and finally, the string of translated words is recoded more finely into Japanese syntax. According to Hino, "the teacher's job in class is to explain the word-by-word translation technique, to provide a model translation, and to correct the student's translation" (p. 46). Contrast this with Howatt's portrayal of a typical grammar/translation method class: "Each new lesson had one or two new grammar rules, a short vocabulary list, and some practice examples to translate" (1983, p. 136). This suggests the first major difference between grammar/translation and *yakudoku*--in *yakudoku* the main focus seems to be on translating the foreign language text into

Japanese. While grammar instruction may take place, it seems to be secondary.

The second major difference is suggested by Law (1995, p. 215), who states that the purpose of *yakudoku* is to render the text into Japanese so that the content may be understood in Japanese. Hino reports on the commentary of a Japanese scholar Ueda (cited in Hino, 1983), who confirms Law's comments that the meaning and content of the English text is understood not in English, but in Japanese. Law comments, "English has tended to be perceived as a channel of one way communication, that is, for the reception of Western ideas" (1995, p. 214). The second major difference between grammar/translation and *yakudoku* then, is that in *yakudoku*, written texts are studied for their content after being transformed into the first language as part of a one way exchange. In grammar/translation, there is more a sense of two way exchange, with students translating text from the L2 into the L1 and from the L1 into the L2. And again, rather than text content, grammar is the main focus.

Given these two differences, the picture forming here of the *yakudoku* method is that it is a form of instruction that requires students to focus more on the Japanese translation of an English text rather than the English text itself. Writing of *yakudoku*, Law comments "the focus of attention is only initially on the codes of the foreign language; most of the productive energy of the method is directed towards the recoded Japanese version" (1995, p. 216).

Four similarities between grammar/translation and *yakudoku* will be discussed here. The first similarity is that both methodologies have been and are accompanied by examinations that are administered on a large scale to secondary students. In the case of British schoolchildren learning modern

foreign languages in the nineteenth century, the universities created a system of public examinations which enabled high scorers to enter better tertiary educational institutions (Howatt, 1984). In the present day, Japanese high schools prepare 45% of their graduates for junior college, college, or university entrance exams in which English is nearly always tested (Shimahara, 1991, cited in Brown and Yamashita, 1995a).

The second similarity between the methodologies are related to the tests described above. In both cases, there has been (and continues to be) a powerful wash back effect from the examinations onto secondary level language syllabuses and teaching methodology. Howatt states "though public examinations did not create the grammar-translation method, they fixed its priorities" (1984, p. 133). Effects of the exams on grammar/translation instructional practices of the time were an increasing emphasis on "meticulous standards of accuracy," and along with the influence of educators of highly valued "classical languages," an unfortunate tendency to focus on exceptions to the rules of grammar (Howatt, 1984, pp. 134-136). Reform-minded educators of the time objected to this wash back effect, and looked to the universities to initiate change to ameliorate the situation (Howatt, 1984, pp. 134-135).

The famed wash back effects of Japanese university entrance exams on general high school curricula and teaching methodology are documented by Rohlen (1983, p. 108), "The criterion of efficiency in preparation, of meeting competition by gearing education to the [university] examinations, reaches deep into nearly every corner of high school education." Other scholars have focused on test wash back on the high school EFL curricula and teaching methodology, such as Law (1994, 1995), and Reader (1986). Law in particular notes of *juken eigo* (examination English) "[it] exhibits a strong preference for

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lists of language items over discursive texts, for peripheral over core forms, and for linguistic knowledge over linguistic performance" (1995, p. 217). Wash back from the university exams is not limited to high school students who want to enter universities--of the 55% of Japanese high school students who do not aspire to enter colleges or universities, Rohlen (1983) remarks: "one third of all Japanese students who attend vocational [high] schools must endure the same kind of instruction but without the sense of purpose or reward [of preparing for the university entrance exams]" (p. 247).

As in the days of grammar/translation in Europe (Howatt, 1984), the distortions created in secondary education curricula and methodology by large scale university created exams has its critics both social (Amano, 1990) and educational (Horio, 1988). Horio refers to the system as "our overheated examination system" (1988, p. 12). For research and commentary in English specific to the nature of the English sections on Japanese university entrance exams, and its effects on students and EFL curricula, see Berwick & Ross, 1989; Brown & Yamashita, 1995a; Brown & Yamashita, 1995b; Buck, 1988; Januzzi, 1994; Kimura & Visgatis, 1996; Law, 1994; Law, 1995; and Reader, 1986; also see Brown & Yamashita, 1995b for numerous references made on these issues by Japanese scholars in Japanese.

The third similarity between grammar/translation and *yakudoku* is a focus on the written text, at the expense of oral/aural skills. In Howatt's words, "[in grammar/translation] spoken language was, at best, irrelevant" (1984, p. 135). Cummings echoes these sentiments when writing about *yakudoku*: "To learn to speak and understand English by this method [*yakudoku*]was still less feasible" (1956, p. 23).

One aspect of this neglect of oral/aural skills with *yakudoku* is the tendency for teachers to use Japanese, not English, as the language of

classroom instruction. The result is a tendency for native English speaking teachers in Japan to be assigned oral skills classes (where English is used for instruction). Japanese English teachers get assigned to reading classes, where the use of English as the language of classroom instruction is perhaps not thought necessary. Law (1995, p. 222), in noting this, states: "it will be difficult to convince students that all [teachers] are engaged in the same enterprise, and that communication skills are not marginal aspects of language learning." A possible further effect of this lopsided assignment of teaching subjects is that Japanese EFL teachers who use *yakudoku* help perpetuate the myth, held by many Japanese EFL students, that reading English and *yakudoku* are the same thing (Hino, 1983, p. 47).

In conclusion, *yakudoku* is characterized as a widely used text-based (non-oral) foreign language instructional methodology with some similarities to grammar/translation, but also with important differences. *Yakudoku* really seems to be more about the process of translating sentences of English text into Japanese, and then understanding the English text in Japanese, than it does understanding English grammar through study of example English sentences. Finally, *yakudoku* is characterized as entwined with university entrance exams.

The gaps even in this understanding are huge, however. This characterization doesn't account for *yakudoku* teacher's beliefs, such as what purposes they feel students can fulfill learning to process language in this way, and what the teacher's assumptions are about how *yakudoku* promotes language learning. This characterization also doesn't account for specific teacher's instructional practices, and variations in them.

Teacher's Practices and Beliefs

Unfortunately, there is little detailed, descriptive research on Japanese

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EFL high school teachers' instructional practices with *yakudoku* and beliefs about these practices. This is not limited to EFL--according to Rohlen (1983, p. 241): "Descriptions of Japanese high school instruction apparently do not exist in Japanese education." This seems odd, considering that "Their [the high schools'] administrative structures, schedules, textbooks, and curricular designs are largely generated by the same Ministry of Education formulas." (Rohlen, 1983, pp. 43-44). Japanese education is centrally controlled--surely it is desirable to research classroom instruction to understand not only what is happening in classrooms, but also to generate alternatives.

Why aren't there more descriptions of classroom instruction at the high school level? Rohlen (1983) notes certain tendencies of high school teachers' lecture design which may shed light on this question. He notes, "examples of...instructional independence are rare, not because senior teachers or administrators are breathing down the backs of teachers...but because most teachers design their lectures with only [university] entrance examinations in mind" (1983, p. 243). If Rohlen is correct, then it explains why high school instruction isn't more studied--a consensus has been reached that puts preparation for university entrance exams forward as the highest educational priority. What may be in place in high schools, then, is a whole set of unexamined, shared assumptions concerning what is "proper" classroom instruction. Clearly, more research is needed to confirm or disconfirm this disquieting idea.

With the advent of team teaching programs, such as the Japan Exchange and Teaching program (JET) begun in 1987 (Wada and Cominos, 1993), some research on secondary education classroom instruction has been done by those seeking to understand how JTEs (Japanese Teachers of

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English) and their foreign counterpart AETs (Assistant English Teachers) interact in the classroom to enhance students' learning.

One such researcher, Yukawa (1992, 1994), observed a Japanese high school English teacher's instructional practices (Yukawa calls them "routines") and interactions with a British teacher in a reading class over a period of several months. Yukawa does not characterize this class as being *yakudoku* class, although this is implied by the prevalence of translation activities in the class (63% of all routines conducted in the class in the first month of the study). Yukawa found that at the beginning of the study, the Japanese teacher generally translated English text into Japanese, asked students for their translations, and explained grammar and word usage. In translating English for the students, the teacher would give "a bad example (direct translation) and then change it into a good one (better translation in natural Japanese)" (1993, p. 48). These routines were conducted in Japanese. Later in the study, the Japanese teacher engaged in fewer translation routines and used English as the medium of instruction more frequently.

Finally, in writing generally of high school instruction, Rohlen (1983) states that "instruction almost entirely by lecture is a thoroughly entrenched pattern" (p. 245). The picture of high school instructional practices emerging from these few sources is that of a teacher-centered, university entrance exam-oriented, text-based, translation-based *yakudoku* pedagogy, which is just beginning to be investigated.

What about Japanese high school *yakudoku* EFL teachers' beliefs? There is precious little previous research to this elusive question, but what there is, is suggestive. One survey described above conducted by the Research Group for College English Teaching in Japan (1983), focused on 1, 012 college and university EFL teachers. Findings indicated that teachers in

these environments tended to ascribe to one of three views of how to approach the learning of English as a foreign language. The first group, comprising 48.9% of all respondents felt that English is best learned through "intensive reading, translation, and appreciation of literary works" (that is, through *yakudoku*). This first group is best labeled as the "English and American literature" group. The second group (37% of respondents) felt EFL student was best approached through English linguistics, hence their name, the "English linguistics" group. A third group, which will be labeled the "TEFL" group, comprised 20.8% of respondents--they ascribed to the belief that EFL study is best approached through methodology espoused in the TEFL field. (1983, pp. 263-264).

While this survey does not focus on high school teachers, it does comment on the beliefs of university EFL teachers who run the teacher certification programs from which 70,034 high school teacher candidates earned teaching certificates in 1989 (National Institute for Educational Research, 1989, p. 9). There is a possibility that high school teachers, coming from teacher certification programs variously imbued in the three views, the "literary view," the "linguistic view," and the "TESOL view," also fall into one of these three categories, which will have an effect on their beliefs about classroom instruction. Teachers ascribing to the "literary view," may, for example, value intensive reading and translation (the hallmarks of *yakudoku*) over other classroom practices such as extensive reading, or conversation activities.

In characterizing high school EFL teachers' views of language learning, university entrance exams probably can't be ignored. Rohlen (1983), during his thirteen months' observation of high school classes and subsequent interactions with the teachers, quotes one Japanese EFL teacher as telling

him, "I know I can't speak English, and your presence in school embarrasses me, but I study the fine points of English grammar, and this is more helpful to my students. They can use it on the exams" (p. 244). This statement suggests the centrality of this teacher's concerns about preparing students for the exams. While there isn't widespread research on high school teachers' beliefs concerning their responsibility to students *vis a´ vis* entrance exams, there are many anecdotal hints to be found. Yukawa (1993), for example, reports that "academic" high schools are reluctant to make use of AETs (Assistant English Teachers) to help students improve their oral skills because they are thought to be a "hindrance to students' preparation for [university] entrance examinations" (p. 56).

Method

Subjects

The central subjects in this study are two Japanese male EFL teachers in their mid-30s employed in a public boy's high school just outside metropolitan Tokyo. The school is noted for its success in placing graduates in some of the top universities in Japan. In this study, the teachers will be known as Mr. Suzuki and Mr. Honda (these are fictitious names). Both teachers have taught in public high schools for approximately 14 years since earning their teaching certificates through the English teaching licensure program as undergraduates at their universities. In such a system, university students take extra Ministry of Education approved courses such as Educational Psychology and English Linguistics, and go through a two week student teaching practicum at a junior or senior high school (National Institute for Educational Research,1989). Mr. Suzuki gained his teaching certificate while getting a degree in French Literature, and Mr. Honda gained

his while getting a degree in English Literature. Both teachers are very proficient in English, and thus were interviewed in English. While a Japanese interpreter was available, both teachers stated they were happy to have a chance to speak in English. Both teachers were shown transcripts of their interviews to ensure their intended meanings had been accurately recorded.

In her initial contact with the school, the researcher specifically requested to be allowed to study second year reading classes. In the three year programs of Japanese high schools, it is in the third and final year that students typically undergo intensive preparation for university entrance exams. In observing *second* year classes, it was hoped that some of this intensive, exam specific preparation could be avoided. However, during this initial contact period, the head teacher of the English department expressed the concern that as the high school was an "academic" school, that is, geared for students' preparation for university exams, that the researcher might not be able to see much of interest or "newness" in teachers' classroom practices. Therefore, it is not known to what extent the classes observed in the high school were "typical" of other high schools. It would be wrong to generalize findings from this study to other high schools.

Materials and Procedures

The research has four basic parts, classroom observation, teacher interviews, an examination of all relevant and available documents, and the researcher's personal log.

The second year reading classes (English II) of Mr. Suzuki and Mr. Honda were observed. Two of Mr. Suzuki's classes, with the same students, were observed about a month apart in Autumn, 1996. Due to time considerations, only one of Mr. Honda's classes was observed, also in

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Autumn, 1996. The classes were tape recorded, in addition to the field notes that were taken. The tape recordings were reviewed by the researcher and a Japanese interpreter, and the field notes were transformed into more accurate transcriptions of the classroom activities.

Both teachers were observed in fairly small, crowded classrooms which where cluttered with approximately 40 desks and chairs arranged in rows. The classrooms had a blackboard at the front, along with the teacher's podium. The walls were plain white and without decoration, and large windows occupied one whole wall of the classroom. With the doors open, a good deal of sound could be heard from other classrooms.

The teachers participated in two sets of interviews. The first set took place immediately after the first classroom observations, and the second set of interviews took place after the second observation of Mr. Suzuki's class. Both teachers were interviewed individually and tape recorded at a spare table in the teacher's room. The teacher's room was a very noisy and bustling place, with teachers and students continually coming in and out, and teachers conferring with one another. All interviews with the teachers were interrupted numerous times by students requesting information. In one case, the student needed directions from Mr. Suzuki on what to instruct his building cleaning team to do (the high school does not employ regular cleaning staff, which is not unusual for Japanese primary and secondary schools). The teachers were told at the beginning of the first set of interviews that neither their names, nor the name of their school, would be published or discussed with anyone else besides the Japanese interpreters. The teachers were also given the option to withdraw from the interviews at any time. The teachers' confidentiality agreement can be seen in Appendix A.

All relevant materials that were available were collected, including the

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class textbook, one worksheet used by Mr. Suzuki in class, seven textbooks assigned for students' home reading, a course grammar syllabus, and a report on trends in university entrance exams put out by a commercial cram school. The two teachers were extremely helpful in collecting these documents, and in many cases produced them, or photocopies of them, without being asked. This was typical of contact with both teachers--at all times, they were very helpful in the midst of their clearly busy schedules.

The researcher kept a personal log outlining details of her impressions, thoughts, and concerns, as suggested in Ary, Jacobs and Razavieh (1990, p. 452).

Analyses

All the analyses in this study were inductive, using Ary, Jacobs and Razavieh's term (1990, p. 448). This means that the analyses grew out of the data as the data collection in the form of interviews, class observations, and material collection, progressed. In this section, analyses of data arising from three aspects of the study will be discussed--the class observations, the materials collection (in particular, the textbook and home reading materials), and the teachers' and students' interviews.

After the classroom observation field notes and tape recordings were integrated into more complete transcripts, the transcripts were perused to identify recurring patterns in the classroom activities. The categories (called "sequences" in this study) below came out of the data, rather than being imposed on it. Such an inductive approach was taken by Cumming (1992) in his study of ESL writing teachers' instructional routines. The definitions of the sequences appear below, along with abbreviated samples from the class observation transcripts which illustrate them.

sequence:
A classroom activity which consists of primarily verbal activity, and is focused on some aspect of an English text being studied in class, and/or the Japanese translation of the text. All sequences are, except where noted, are teacher dominated and initiated. The activity within the sequence occasionally has a single classroom instructional function, but is most often multi functional, where two or more sequence types are bundled together, centered around a clause or sentence.

content instruction sequence:
The activity in this sequence functions to clarify and consolidate the meaning of an English text. In a lecture, the teacher gives the students background information, or provides commentary on the "logic" of the author. It is triggered by the teacher's perception that students need more information to understand the text.
Example from classroom observation transcript:
Line from text being discussed in class: *It breaks down the nerve cells in the spinal cord and brain that control voluntary muscle activity.*
Teacher draws diagram of brain and spinal cord on the blackboard, explaining Lou Gherig's disease in Japan, saying *brain and spinal cord* in English.

English sentence location check sequence:
The activity in this sequence functions to allow the teacher to check student's ability to find and say the appropriate English sentence from the text in response to questions in English that were given out previously as homework. It also functions to transmit the answer approved by the teacher to the rest of the class. While this kind of sequence is often thought to function as a comprehension check, the only comprehension required by the students is in understanding the questions.

grammar instruction sequence:
The activity in this sequence functions to explain a grammatical structure. In a short lecture, the teacher uses specialized grammatical terms, and often writes the structure on the board. It is triggered by a teacher's perception, based on a student's Japanese translation, that the student has misunderstood the grammar of the English text.
Example from classroom observation transcript:
Line from text being discussed in class: *They are the giants, the out-of-ordinary figures whose superiority fills out hearts with admiration and awe; the men and women who give us a high example to follow, a purpose in life, or sometimes just a dream, because they represent the person that we would like to be.*
Teacher says in Japanese "Let's find the indirect object in the English text. 'Us' is object but indirect object is in three parts: 'high example,' 'purpose,' 'a dream'."

listening sequence:
The activity in this sequence functions to familiarize the students with how the English lines in the text sound when spoken. In one form, the teacher plays a tape and the students listen while reading along in the text. In this form, the activity also functions to prepare students for the *English sentence*

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location check sequence described above. In another form, the teacher plays a tape with English sentence from the text repeatedly while the students write the sentences down on a worksheet.

pronunciation sequence:
The activity in this sequence functions to allow students to practice saying discrete words or phrases from the English text being studied. The teacher says a word and the students repeat chorally. This activity also functions to emphasize words or phrases that the teacher would like to focus on.
Focus: The English text.
Example from classroom observation transcript:
Teacher reads words from the textbook out loud, students repeat chorally: *kekyosuru oyosuru apply, apply, futso no ordinary, ordinary, enjiru jikosuru, perform, perform, superiority, superiority, ority, ority, riority, riority, periority, periority, superiority, superiority*

quiz sequence: This activity functions to allow teachers to monitor students' preparation for the class. The teacher gives a three to eight item quiz which the students themselves check and grade upon completion and then hand in. The quizzes typically ask students to write Japanese translations of English words, phrases, or sentences, or English sentences from the text equivalent to the Japanese sentences the teacher reads aloud.
Focus: The English text and/or the Japanese translation.
Example from classroom observation transcript:
Teacher reads three sentences in Japanese and students are to write the English translations as they appear in the English text which they were to have translated for the lesson. One student asks, "How many English words allowed for number 1?" The teacher says "Seven." When the quiz is over, students check their answers in their textbooks.

student initiated clarification sequence: This activity functions to allow students to clarify misunderstandings or confirm hypotheses about some aspect of the English text, the Japanese translation, or some aspect of a classroom activity. A student asks the teacher a question, which the teacher answers. This sequence often triggers a *grammar instruction sequence*, a *content instruction sequence*, or a *translation instruction sequence*.

translation comprehension check sequence:
This activity functions to check the comprehension of the student called on and to transmit the translation approved by the teacher to the rest of the students in the class. The teacher asks a single student to provide the Japanese translation of an English sentence or phrase in the text. Typically, the teacher then evaluates the student's translation and moves into one of the other sequences, such as a *grammar instruction sequence*.
Example from classroom observation transcript:
Teacher tells student to read his translation of the following: *that particularly in Europe and North America the young now refuse to admire anyone*. Student gives reads his Japanese translation out loud and the teacher comments, giving the "proper" Japanese translation, which the students write down.

translation instruction sequence:
The activity functions to instruct students on how to translate English sentences or clauses into Japanese. This sequence often occurs after a *translation comprehension checking sequence*, when, based on a student's Japanese translation, the teacher perceives the student has used inappropriate Japanese in the translation. In a lecture, the teacher comments on "correct" ways to translate, giving examples.
Example from classroom observation transcript:
Line from text being discussed in class: *They are the giants, the out-of-ordinary figures whose superiority fills out hearts with admiration and awe;*
Teacher asks student to give his Japanese translation of *awe*; student answers *ikei*. Teacher says "*ikei* is the first definition in the English/Japanese dictionary but it is bookish and very formal." Teacher instructs student to translate it into easy Japanese.

vocabulary instruction sequence:
This activity functions to allow the teacher to review and clarify word or "chunked phrase" meanings in the English text, which has already been translated by the students. This sequence often appears in tandem with a *pronunciation sequence*, where the teacher uses choral repetition to review words. The teacher either gives the Japanese translation along with the words, or asks students to find correct English definitions on a worksheet. See *pronunciation sequence* for an example from the classroom observation transcript.

The student reading materials that were collected were analyzed descriptively. The class textbook and assigned home readers were categorized into two basic categories: books entirely in English, and books in English with accompanying vocabulary, content, and grammar notes, etc. in Japanese. 500 word sections of each book were input into a word processing program, *Nisus Writer 4.14* (Paragon Concepts, 1988) and checked on the program's Flesch readability scale for estimated reading difficulty.

The teacher interviews were analyzed qualitatively for their relevance to the research questions. The teachers' interviews in particular were gleaned for evidence of teachers' beliefs concerning their class instruction practices.

Results

To answer the first research question, "What are the instructional practices of two "academic" high school teachers in their *yakudoku* EFL classrooms?" we need to look at what teachers do in the classroom and at

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what kinds of texts they ask students to process. These comprise the teachers' *actual* practices. We also need to look at the teachers' *reported* practices, as revealed in their interviews, and at the texts students are expected to process outside class. Thus, the teachers' practices can be added to, and compared to previous descriptions of *yakudoku* instruction and to the characterization of *yakudoku* in the literature above.

From the classroom observations and teacher interviews, eight salient features of classroom instruction were noted. First, it seems clear from the teachers' actual and reported practices that translation is at the heart of their classroom teaching. Table 1 indicates the results of the classroom observation analysis in terms of the frequencies of instructional sequences.

Table 1
Sequence Frequencies During Classroom Observations

text being studied by students	Suzuki's Class September 27 "No More Heroes?" lines 67-76	Suzuki's Class October 30 "Stephen Hawking" lines 40-72	Honda's Class September 27 "No More Heroes?" lines 1-27
translation comprehension check/grammar/translation instruction	4	1	1
translation comprehension check/grammar	2	2	3
translation comprehension check/content	4	1	-
translation comprehension check/translation instruction	1	2	4
translation comprehension check	-	-	3
translation instruction/grammar	-	-	1
translation instruction	-	-	2
grammar	-	3	2
student question/grammar	-	-	1

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content	3	2	1
listening	3	5	-
vocabulary	-	4	1
pronunciation/vocabulary	1	-	1
quiz	-	1	1
English sentence location	2	-	1
Total Sequences	20	21	23

The first seven sequence categories in the table, which all involve translation, account for a large chunk of total sequences the teachers engaged in. Mr. Suzuki based his instruction on translation in 11 (55%) of his sequences in this first class, and 6 (27.3%) in his second. Mr. Honda used translation in 14 (64%) of his sequences. The drop in translation sequences in Mr. Suzuki's October 30 class can be attributed to his first time use of a listening dictation task, which took up the first third of the forty-five minute class. That translation plays such a large part confirms Yukawa's (1992, 1994) description of high school EFL classroom instruction.

Both teachers in the present study reported in interviews telling students to translate entire units (approximately 700 words of text) in the textbook on a regular basis. This was to be done as homework, and prepared for the next class. According to the teachers, students are told to rewrite the English text on the left hand side of their notebooks and write their Japanese translations on the right hand side. Both teachers report checking the notebooks periodically to ensure students have completed the homework.

In classroom observations, the teachers asked individual students to read their Japanese translation for a phrase or a sentence. The teachers would then evaluate the student's translation. If, judging from the translation, the teachers sensed the student had misunderstood the English

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text, or if the student's translation was written in ungrammatical or stilted Japanese (or "queer Japanese" as Mr. Suzuki put it), the teachers then would move into a grammar instruction sequence, a content sequence, or a translation instruction sequence that would help clear up the student's misunderstanding.

Thus the translation comprehension check sequences seemed to function in two ways--first, teachers could gauge students' comprehension of the English text via their Japanese translations, and second, teachers could convey to the entire class the "correct" and accepted Japanese translation of the text. The translation instruction sequences appeared to the researcher more as lessons in Japanese, than in English. On one hand, these sequences served to help teachers focus students' attention on grammatical differences between English and Japanese. On the other hand, as the teachers focused on helping students to think about and create meaningful Japanese, rather than meaningful English.

One last feature pertaining to translation was the teachers reported that students are asked to translate seven textbooks assigned as "home readers" in the course of an academic year. The teachers periodically check the students' "home reader" translation notebooks, but not thoroughly. The home reader translation notebooks are similar to students' notebooks based on the the class textbook. The seven "home readers" the students are expected to translate vary in genre, length, difficulty, and format.

Table 2
"Home Reader" Descriptions

Title	Genre	Length	Difficulty	Format
I, Robot (Asimov, 1993)	Science Fiction	85 pages of text	Flesch: 82 (U.S. Grade 8)	Entirely in English with 3 pages of inference, sentence combining, opinion activities
The Year of Sharing (Gilbert, 1994)	Science Fiction	40 pages of text	Flesch: 94 (U.S. Grade 5)	Entirely in English with 2 pages of sentence order, inference, opinion activities
The Man From Paris (Thornley, 1970)	Mystery Thriller	46 pages of text	Flesch: 100 (U.S. Grade 4)	English with one page plot synopsis in Japanese, 21 pages of grammar, vocabulary, and background notes in Japanese
The Young King and Other Stories (Wilde, 1987)	Short Stories	57 pages of text	Flesch: 97 (U.S. Grade 6)	English with one page intro in Japanese, 24 pages of grammar and vocabulary notes in Japanese
For and Against (Alexander, 1985)	Short Essays	61 pages of text	Flesch: 56 (U.S. Grade 11)	30 English essays with 2 page Japanese intro, 19 pages of grammar, vocabulary, and background notes in Japanese.
The Crisis of Modern Man (Milward, 1983)	Short Essays	64 pages of text	Flesch: 68 (U.S. Grade 12)	9 English essays with 19 pages of grammar, vocabulary, and background notes in Japanese.
Charlie Chaplin (Milward, 1980)	Biography	60 pages of text	Flesch: 73 (U.S. Grade 9)	2 pages of maps, 1 page synopsis in Japanese, 20 photographs, 19 pages of grammar, vocabulary, and background notes in Japanese

Note: Flesch readability scores are given above as "Flesch."

As noted above, teachers reported requiring students to translate all the "home readers." No other requirements were observed, or reported, such as doing the exercises in the books.

The second feature of teachers' instruction to be noted here concerns the English texts themselves. This researcher believes the texts the students were being asked to process were quite difficult for them, not only linguistically, but in terms of unfamiliar content. A hint of this can be seen in Table 1 above when looking particularly at the content instruction and grammar instruction sequences, which stand alone and also appear along

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with translation comprehension check sequences. During the class observations, the teachers spent a lot of time and effort ensuring students understood the text. In addition to working with the Japanese translations, teachers gave background information to students (thus making the content more familiar) and grammar explanations. This could indicate that the text was beyond the abilities of the students students in more ways than one, and the teachers sensed this. An analysis of the class textbook appears below in Table 3.

Table 3
Analysis of English Texts Used During Classroom Observations

Text used for Suzuki's and Honda's September 27 class:
"No more heroes?" (Kenan, 1995)

Length: Approximately 600 words

Flesch Readability Estimate: 55 (U.S. Grade Level: 15)

Text used for Suzuki's October 30 class:
"Stephen Hawking" (Ferguson, 1995)

Length: Approximately 900 words

Flesch Readability Estimate: 63 (U.S. Grade Level: 12)

It seems clear from the Flesch readability estimates that the texts are linguistically difficult, perhaps beyond what non-native readers of English can be expected to do after a mere 4 1/2 years of formal EFL instruction. And readability estimates don't account for difficulties students may have with unfamiliar content. In "No More Heroes?" the focus is on historical figures from the U.S. and Europe. In "Stephen Hawking," a rare medical condition, amyotrophic lateral sclerosis, is discussed. Both present content perhaps unfamiliar even to native English readers. Extracts from both readings can be found in Appendix B.

Third, in classroom observations, the classes were found to strongly resemble intensive reading classes. Amongst other things, this means that the classes were strongly text based, with little emphasis on oral or aural skill development. In the classes, the English text was considered literally word for word, with additional attention in the form of teacher lectures being paid to sentence structure and occasionally, paragraph structure. In Mr. Honda's class, for example, he asked students "In this paragraph, where can you find the three conditions for being a hero?" The few listening sequences observed involved students listening to a tape while reading along in the textbook, or completing a dictation task. For the latter, students were asked to write out five full sentences the same as they appeared in the textbook as they listening to a tape. There were also a few pronunciation sequences, which seemed to serve as review for single vocabulary items.

The fourth feature was noted through classroom observations--the language of instruction for both teachers was overwhelmingly Japanese. Only during pronunciation sequences noted above was English spoken by the teachers--in these cases, single words were spoken, which students had to repeat. This, and what is described above in the fifth instructional feature was the extent of the treatment of English in the oral/aural mode.

Fifth, in classroom observations, students never actually produced any written English. As noted above, any productive work done by students was completed outside class, when they translated the English text into Japanese. One exception, a quiz given by Mr. Honda, involved orally reading out to the students three Japanese translations of English sentences taken from the textbook and then having the students write the English translations on a piece of paper. The English sentences had to be exactly the same as the sentences in the textbook, which students were to have

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memorized. Even this (memorizing) isn't really producing language.

The sixth feature noted from classroom observation was that both teachers demanded conformity in what students did produce. This may be related to the observation that students didn't produce English in the classes. During translation comprehension check sequences, no discussion of the students' translations took place--they were simply "right" or "wrong," with the teacher demonstrating the "right" way to do it, and conveying the "right" translation to the students to be written down. Students did not have the chance to consider or to argue for the meaning they had gleaned from the English text, even if through their Japanese translations. During quizzes, similar conformity from students was demanded. In Mr. Honda's quiz, after giving students the Japanese translations of lines from the text students had been studying, students were asked to write the English equivalents. To be counted as "correct," students' answers had to be exactly what was in the English text. In Mr. Suzuki's quiz in his October 30 class, students completed a dictation of English sentences from a tape, taken from the text. Student's answers had to be exact in order to be counted as "correct," as described above.

This brings us to the seventh feature of classroom instruction. It if is not already abundantly clear, the classes observed were strongly teacher centered. The teachers determined the pace, and the focus of the lessons. Both teachers asked several times if students had questions, but only twice did students ask questions, thus making the class, however so briefly, student centered. Both teachers kept up a quick pace, seemed to work very hard to actively engage the students in the trying to comprehend the English text and the grammar and content therein. This was done through questions directed at individual students, and through lectures designed to have

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personal relevance to the students.

To explain a metaphor in the text, Mr. Suzuki noted that rain was falling outdoors. When learning that only a few students had brought their umbrellas, he said, "Now aren't you sad, just like the 'sad sky' mentioned in the text?" Mr. Honda engaged students by asking a student a question and then giving the student hints when he appeared to have trouble (which was often) The result was an intense, exciting interchange (at least from the researcher's point of view) in which sometimes the students was able to give the answer Mr Honda wanted, and sometimes not. This strong desire to engage students in this teacher centered way was also reflected in the teachers' interviews. Both teachers report trying to inspire students to think deeply about what the texts, and to consider the author's point of view.

The eighth feature noted from classroom observations and teachers' interviews concerns student assessment. This is closely related to the observation that the classes are strongly teacher centered, as the classroom assessment appears to function as a form of teacher control. Students are tested often, and conformity in their answers is required. The first type of assessment comes in the form of daily quizzes, which have been mentioned above. To do well, students really need to memorize portions of the English text. The teachers both reported giving students hints about which sentences to memorize in a previous class. If students do poorly on three quizzes in a row, they are expected to have a conference with the teacher, who will give them another test. Both teachers stated in the interview that the quizzes do not count towards the students' grades.

The second type of assessment *does* count towards the students' grades--these are the 11 "terminal tests" that students have to take in an academic year. The teachers stated that the tests are based on the "home

readers," and contain 30-40 translation and multiple choice items. According to one of the curriculum documents given to the researcher, students took a test in 1995 based on three chapters of the "home reader" *The Young King and Other Stories* (Wilde, 1987). Another "home reader" text chapter is listed on the same testing schedule for a later test with the Chinese characters for "memorize" next to it (*Charlie Chaplin*, Milward, 1980).

To answer the second research question, "How can the beliefs these teachers hold towards *yakudoku* EFL education be characterized?" it will be necessary to analyze the teachers' beliefs in relation to their instructional practices as observed and reported above. This information will come from the teachers' interviews.

Instructional Practice #1: The teachers base their classroom instruction on the translation of English text into Japanese. Both teachers report ambivalent feelings about the use of translation as a method of instruction, and about requiring their students to process text through translation. Mr. Honda feels that translation is the easiest way to learn a new language because it takes away the need for the teacher to make laborious explanations of new grammar and vocabulary. Mr. Suzuki believes that translation helps students prepare for university entrance exams. He also believes that by memorizing English sentences, and making translations of them, students can best learn English.

Translation serves positive pedagogical purposes, according to both teachers. Mr. Suzuki states that with translation it is easy to tell which students understand the English text, and which do not, just by listening to their translations. He also believes that low level students can use it to understand English, and that students of any level can get satisfaction from knowing that "they've translated so many lines of English today." Mr. Honda

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adds that learning through translation helps students learn Japanese. On this topic, Mr. Suzuki states that although Japanese students can read Japanese, they don't really understand it. Hence, students can learn their own language through translating a foreign text into Japanese.

Both teachers had negative feelings about translation as well. Mr. Suzuki feels that asking students to translate "robs them of pleasure," and that they can't get a feel for the "exciting story" of a text if they have to translate it. Mr. Suzuki wants students to mentally process English texts in English but feels they probably don't because they have to translate. Finally, as reported above, Mr. Honda feels that translation keeps students from developing their aural/oral skills.

Concerning the teachers' report that students translate texts outside of class (not in class), Mr. Suzuki believed it is best for students to translate the textbook far ahead of the class schedule during their vacations, but doubted many of the students have time to do so.

Concerning the "home readers" Mr. Suzuki stated that some of the home readers were easier than others (is borne out by the analysis depicted in Table 2 above) and that was desirable. He mentioned with the easier ones like *The Year of Sharing* students could develop their ability to read fluently. This is somewhat contradicted by the fact that students are still required to translate each book in its entirety. This may point to translation being mistaken as reading (Hino, 1983), or it may indicate that translation has great pedagogical value in that the teachers can ensure students have "read" the book.

Instruction Practice #2: Teachers use textbooks that are probably difficult for students both linguistically and in terms of unfamiliar content. We should begin here with a synopsis of what the teachers thought, in thee

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interviews, constituted a good textbook. Both teachers agreed textbooks had to be attuned to students' interests, and that they should be vehicles to teaching specific grammar structures and vocabulary. A strong belief shared by the teachers was the idea that a textbook should have readings in it that were "logical," and that posed questions within the text to which there were definite answers that students could find. In particular they complained about one of the readings in which a rhetorical question was posed. They also strongly believe that culture should be transmitted to students through the texts, and that they wished there were more materials in English about Asian countries, rather than the standard U.S./European fare. Finally, Mr. Suzuki commented that reading new content for students was like a window on the world. He felt one of the main purposes of reading in English was to "get content," such as philosophy, science, and historical trends. Clearly the teachers expect a lot from the texts--they have to contain material for grammar lessons, teach new vocabulary, impart culture, and teach students content besides. What comes through here is the teachers' desire that the text "educate" students in many ways, not just help them learn English.

Mr. Suzuki felt that reading easy texts is sometimes good for students, and that they won't need to translate in such cases. However, he felt easy texts don't pose enough of a "challenge" for students, and without this challenge they won't progress. Both teachers mentioned that their students were nowhere near ready to succeed with the university entrance exams that they would have to take 18 months in the future, despite the difficulty of their current textbook. Thus, the teachers seem to have dual goals--to educate the students about the world and about how to think, and to help them pass university entrance exams. These duals goals add up to difficult texts.

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Both teachers reported to be profoundly concerned that the study of English texts also bettered students' minds and their improved their ability to think "logically." Both teachers saw this as something that would last students a lifetime, far beyond their formal education. Both teachers also saw students' ability to understand the author's message as a function of reading ability. This is to say that students with low ability could probably translate adequately but not really understand the "deep message" of the text.

Instructional Practice #3: The classes resemble intensive reading classes in that they focus on written texts. Both teachers expressed the belief that students should be prepared for university entrance exams, and this means that students should be able to process English passages "quickly and correctly," in Mr. Honda's words. He said they should also be able to answer multiple choice comprehension and grammar questions about the passage. Mr. Suzuki commented that students also need to learn sentence patterns and vocabulary in order to do well on the exams. Apparently the teachers feel intensive reading promotes students' ability to pass the exams.

Another belief reported by the teachers that seemingly underpins this practice has to do with what Mr. Suzuki calls the "logic" of author (Mr. Honda calls it "English logic"). Both teachers firmly feel that this "logic" is very helpful for students to understand the passage. In a typical intensive reading, a passage is scrutinized carefully for sentence and paragraph structure which was felt by the teachers to reveal the "logic" of the author. This is precisely what both teachers did in the observations. Mr. Honda went so far as to say that if students are guided carefully through the first paragraph of a text, then they will understand the rest of the text. He said

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he also tried to help students find the "one main idea" he believed exists in each paragraph in English tests by helping students identify the different grammatical elements in each sentence and then looking at the paragraph as a whole.

Instructional Practice #4: The language of classroom instruction is Japanese. Neither teacher expressed beliefs underpinning this practice. Mr. Honda commented, however, that one of the weak points of *yakudoku* is that students don't learn to "speak or listen in English." Several times during the class observation Mr. Honda said he felt shy that a native speaker of English (the researcher) was in the room.

Instructional Practice #5: Teachers generally don't ask students to produce written English. In the context of and exception--quizzes in which student do write out English sentences, Mr. Honda believed students should write out full sentences in English, as he believed this helps students learn English vocabulary. Mr. Honda commented further that for students to create their own English sentences would be too difficult, but he believes that if students were given a model to follow, they could copy that.

Instructional Practice #6: The teachers demand conformity in students' translations and quiz answers. While the teachers did not comment directly, some of their other comments may have bearing on this feature. Both teachers felt that learning a foreign language involves a lot of memorization. Mr. Suzuki commented that for students to sufficiently prepare their daily quiz they had to memorize their translations and answers to questions he posed in an earlier class. In the October 30 class, after students had made their first attempt at a listening dictation, he told students that if they memorized English sentences, they could write out the sentences correctly even if they didn't completely hear what was on the tape. Mr. Honda

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commented from a different standpoint--he felt that for students to pass university entrance exams, they have to read English passages "correctly and quickly."

Instructional Practice #7: Classes are teacher centered. Neither teacher directly comments on this phenomenon. However, they do express points of view that explain it. First, both teachers believe their classes of 40+ students are too large. It could be that, for interests of classroom management, teachers feel they should maintain strict control. More importantly, both teachers felt strongly that they operate under time pressure, and that the curriculum is very full. They felt it is important to get through large amounts of text in class, and that with classes that meet only three times a week, they don't have the time they'd like to cover the texts more thoroughly.

Instructional Practice #8: Students are assessed often. Mr. Suzuki and Mr. Honda reported somewhat different reasons for doing this. Mr. Suzuki felt that the quizzes were purely motivational, and without them, students wouldn't translate the textbook. Mr. Honda used the daily tests as a way to get students to write out full sentences in English, which he felt was beneficial to students' learning. Both teachers mentioned using the daily tests to monitor whether or not students were keeping up.

Concerning the 11 terminal tests based on the home readers, the researcher feels the teachers' comments above concerning the need for English to be "challenging" have bearing on this practice. Mr. Suzuki said he can tell from the students' scores whether or not they've translated their home readers.

Discussion

In this section, four points will be discussed:

1. The results of this study generally confirm earlier characterizations of *yakudoku*.
2. *Yakudoku* functions as a form of teacher control.
3. There is wash back on *yakudoku* from university entrance exams.
4. The "English and American literature" paradigm has a strong influence on teachers' instruction.

1. Generally speaking, the results of this study generally confirm earlier characterizations of *yakudoku*. Translation was found to be at the heart of these *yakudoku* classrooms, which confirms Hino (1983), Law (1995), and Yukawa (1992, 1994). There were substantial amounts of grammar instruction, but this was nearly always in the context of translating English text into Japanese. In striving to create good Japanese translations, the teachers created classes that resembled Japanese language classes more than English classes, a tendency noted by Law (1995). *Yakudoku* was found to resemble intensive reading classes with a strong focus on the written text. Oral/aural skills were not developed. This confirms previous characterizations of *yakudoku* (Henrichsen, 1989; Hino, 1983; Law, 1995).

2. *Yakudoku* is really about teacher control. Students were required to translate at nearly every juncture, and their translations were checked, and controlled, by the teachers in and out of class. Even with "home readers" that one teacher felt students could read without translating, the students were required to translate. The researcher believes that in this context, *yakudoku* is pedagogy that functions as a powerful tool of teacher control. When students translate, they create written proof of their having processed the assigned text. And when students reveal their translations in class, the translations are, in a sense, "edited" by teachers so that the other students

receive the "correct" version. Pedagogical issues aside, there remains the question of how this sort of language processing affects the students' English acquisition. This is, however, beyond the scope of this paper.

3. There is wash back on *yakudoku* from university entrance exams. University entrance examinations were found to have a pervasive influence on teachers' *yakudoku* practices. In interviews, both teachers reported that in choosing what aspects of English to focus on in class, they considered what grammar structures or sentence patterns might appear on future exams. At one point, the researcher was given a report published by a commercial cram school that summarized the features of recent entrance exams.

This focus on the entrance exams can also be seen in the strongly teacher centered classrooms, and teachers' insistence on conformity in students' answers. Mr. Honda stated in an interview that to do well on the exams, students had to be able to read English passages "quickly and correctly." Perhaps he felt that if students are to pass these important exams, they should get accustomed to making their answers "count," by being correct. Generally, these results confirm Law (1994, 1995), Reader (1986), and Rohlen (1983). The overall purpose of these *yakudoku* EFL classes does seem to be university exam preparation.

But what doesn't make sense is that most university exams don't actually require students to translate a great deal, which is what *yakudoku* is all about. Surveys of private and public university exams in recent years indicate that English reading passages with comprehension questions comprise the greatest number of test items (Brown & Yamashita, 1995; Law, 1994). The answer to this may be that *yakudoku*, as stated above, has a pedagogical life of its own. It fulfills something deeper in Japanese society than passing entrance exams. Traits that *yakudoku* is thought to develop in

students, such as mental discipline (Hino, 1983), also helps students prepare for the entrance exams. For reasons other than university entrance exams, no other methodology has developed for foreign language education in Japan.

4. The "English and American literature" paradigm has a strong influence on teachers' instruction. As noted earlier, the Research Group for College English Teaching in Japan (1983, pp. 263-264) found that respondents to their nationwide survey of university teachers ascribed to one of three approaches, or paradigms, for EFL education. The largest group felt that intensive reading, translation, and appreciation of literary works were the elements of a good foreign language program. It was clear that both teachers in this study came from such paradigms. Both Mr. Suzuki and Mr. Honda reported having gotten degrees in French or English literature. That they were acting out of their own educational experiences through their high school instruction is evident.

First, the class textbook was very difficult. The researcher believes that in this English and American literature paradigm, this is seen as good, or as a negligible consideration. The point is not to read the text to learn a language, but to appreciate it. Perhaps to appreciate something, one has to work long and hard at it, hence the translation, and line by line explanations in class.

Second, the teachers expected the textbooks to fulfill multiple purposes. Textbooks should not only teach grammar and vocabulary, but should also "open a window to the world," in Mr. Suzuki's words. Teachers clearly wanted to educate the students by exposing them to unfamiliar content, and by teaching them about the "logic" of the passages. This echoes Law's (1995, p. 214) comment that *yakudoku* seeks a one way communication that is used to receive Western ideas. It is also very much in

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line with the English and American literature approach to foreign language education. On an encouraging note, both teachers said they wanted students to read English texts about non-Western cultures, too. This is perhaps a need that has not been heard by publishers.

There are many shortcomings in this study. The most glaring one is the small number of classroom observations. To really understand what teachers are doing with *yakudoku* and why they think they are doing it, a researcher must plan to do a longer term project, with longitudinal observations. Another shortcoming is the lack of validation of the instructional sequence categories. Independent raters should have been brought in to confirm the construct validity of the categories, and then to develop the reliability of the raters as they interact with the observation transcripts. Finally, because of linguistic difficulties, the researcher has not completed a literature search of Japanese-language sources on *yakudoku*. Nevertheless, the study has served to inform the researcher about the black and tortured heart of *yakudoku* EFL education in Japan.

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Appendix A--Confidentiality Agreement with Teachers
Date: October 4, 1996
School: XXXXX High School, XXXXX, XXXXX

The following message and the questions below were given to the teachers a week prior to the interview. They affirmed they understood the message. The teacher's responses are marked in green ink, and later comments by the researcher in red.

I'd like to interview you for about 40 minutes about the English II class I observed. Your name, your students' names, and the name of your school will be completely confidential. No one but myself and the interpreter will listen to this audiotape. Please answer the questions as best you can. If there are any questions you cannot understand, please just say so. You can end this interview at any time if you feel you can't continue.

Appendix B--Extracts from Class Textbook

Kenan, L.R. (1995). No more heroes? In K. Tanabe (Ed.), *Creative English course II*(pp. 66-71). Tokyo: Daiichi Gakushusha.

Lines1-27:

The word *hero* can be confusing, for it has several meanings. It is often applied to ordinary people who happen to perform an act of great courage-a fireman who saves someone from a burning house at the risk of his own life, for example. Then the principal character of a play, a novel, or a film is known as the hero of the story, even if he is not particularly brave. But the heroes and heroines that we are going to consider now constitute a third group. They are the giants, the out-of-ordinary figures whose superiority fills our hearts with admiration and awe; the man and women who gave us a high example to follow, a purpose in life, or sometimes just a dream, because they represent the person that we would like to be.

Many articles have appeared in recent years, claiming that there are no more heroes in the Western world. The authors say that, particularly in Europe and North America, the young now refuse to admire anyone; that we are living in a world too well informed, too curious and critical for hero worship. The press, books, and television keep showing us the faults of the public figures who could become today's stars, until we lose faith and start looking for defects in any person who seems worthy of respect. In a neighbor or statesman, we try to discover the weaknesses, failures, or ugly motives that are surely hiding behind his noblest actions.

Ferguson, K. (1995). Stephen Hawking. In K. Tanabe (Ed.), *Creative English course II*(pp. 76-84). Tokyo: Daiichi Gakushusha.

Lines 40-64:

During his third year at Oxford Hawking had been getting clumsy. He'd fallen once or twice for no apparent reason. The following autumn, at Cambridge, he had trouble tying his shoes and sometimes had difficulty talking.

Shortly after this twenty-first birthday in January 1963, Hawking found himself not back at Cambridge for the Lent term but in a hospital for tests. After two weeks they released him, telling him vaguely that what he had wasn't a "typical case" and that it wasn't multiple sclerosis. The doctors suggested he go back to Cambridge and get on with his work. "I gathered," Hawking remembers, "that they expected it to continue to get worse, and that there was nothing they could do, except give me

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vitamins. I could see that they didn't expect them to have much effect. I didn't feel like asking for details, because they were so obviously bad."

Hawking had contracted a rare disease for which there is no known cure, amyotrophic lateral sclerosis, known in America as Lou Gherig's disease. It breaks down the nerve cells in the spinal cord and brain that control voluntary muscle activity. The first symptoms are usually weakness and twitching of the hands, and perhaps unclear speech and difficulty in swallowing.